Vol. 4. No 6. 22nd May 1919.

THE Hindu Message

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

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Editor: T. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar B.A.

VOL. 4.] THURSDAY MAY 29, 1919. [No. 6.

The **Hindu Message** stands for

(1) The Maintenance of British supremacy with self-government for India,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

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A Vision Of India.

THE COCOANUT PALM—I.

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.

How tall as if disdainful of the earth
It upward grows to meet the far-off skies,
Like some great sage pure, holy, calm, and wise
Who seeks to crown with perfect peace his birth.
It takes its share of fulness and of dearth,
Of raptures and of blessings in disguise.
It ne'er with weak desire distracted cries.
For joys of wealth or fame or home or hearth
It bears its clust'ring weight of golden fruits
That keep sweet water in the hottest days
And with its graceful arms doth welcome all.
I seem to hear as from far mystic flutes
Its silent song of grateful Godward praise
And of self-poised life majestical.

The Hindu Message

THURSDAY EVENING 29, MAY,, 1919.

Sir Sankaran Nair Kt. C. I. E.

The resignation of Sir Sankaran Nair of the office of ordinary member in charge of the Educational portfolio of the Executive Council of the Viceroy is a distinct loss to the Government of India. The news has not yet been officially confirmed but it has not been officially contradicted either. Private messages of the rumoured resignation were confirmed by the Associated Press Message and though no official confirmation is forthcoming till now, we may well take it for granted as a settled fact that the resignation has been handed in. Sir Sankaran Nair's position in the country is unique. An unflinching patriot of sterling abilities, he commands the full confidence of the people of all shades of opinion throughout the length and breadth of the land to a degeee not enjoyed by any other leader. He is a sober, moderate and level-headed politician ever bent on improving in all possible ways the state of his country and the lot of his countrymen. His sturdy independence never brooks any assumptions of superiority in whatever sphere it may be. His acknowledged eminence among the galaxy of Indian leaders, his staunch liberalism, his unrivalled gifts of courage and outspokenness, his wide experience and varied knowledge, and last but not least his strong and unbending personality could have been utilised by the Government of India to the best advantage of both the people and the Government. But this was too good to happen and the repressive attitude of his colleagues in regard to the Rowlatt legislation and the constitutional reform and the measures adopted in Panjab under the guise of martial law made it quite intolerable to one of Sir Sankaran Nair's temperament and convictions to continue in office when there was no probability of doing any good to his country. To retain office not as a means to do public good is not in the nature of people of Sir Sankaran Nair's stamp. The courageous stand which this illustrious countryman of ours has taken as regards the Despatch of the Government of India re—the constitutional reforms and the merciless exposure he has made therein of the various fallacies and special pleadings in that document excites our sincere and grateful admiration to no small extent. His minute of dissent is a standing monument of his unrivalled patriotism and unerring grasp of the real situation. It is a masterly analysis of the specious arguments of bureaucracy. It deserves to be carefully read and digested by every one interested in the progress of India. At the very outset he defines clearly what he means by "responsibility" in the expression "the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." He says that so long as India remains an integral part of the British Empire the paramountcy of Parliament must be recognised and maintained. What in his opinion 'responsibility' implies is the subordination of the executive to the legislative council composed of the representatives of the people. Whether the Governments are nominated by the legislative council or not, the essential

point is that they must carry out the will of the legislature in every respect. He has quite correctly gauged the different view-points of the Government of India and the Congress party when he says.

"The proposals made by my colleagues tend to the diminution of Parliamentary control not for the purpose of the transference of such power to the Legislative Councils of the country, but to the Executive Governments in India. What the Indians desire is not that Parliament should surrender in favour of the executive governments its power of control, but that it should delegate it to popular assemblies in India when it should think it proper to do so. During the period of transition. *Parliament or any authority in England which faithfully represents Parliament* might interfere with the exercise of any delegated authority by the legislative assemblies in India at the instance of the executive authorities or otherwise............ *The India office with the Secretary of State, as at present constituted, does not faithfully represent Parliament.*"

The italics are ours. The case of the Congress cannot be put in more succinct language. After thus defining clearly what he means by responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire, Sir Sankaran Nair goes on to shatter to pieces the futile argument arising out of ignorance that 'any system of government other than that of absolute monarchy was unknown in India and is entirely foreign and repugnant to the genius of the people.' From the testimony of European writers themselves he clearly shows that "neither ancient nor modern history in Europe can show a system of local self-government more scientifically planned, nor one which provided more effective safeguards against abuses, than that which was worked out by Aryan philosophers as the social and political basis of Indo-Aryan religion." The democratic form of Government which prevailed in ordinary Indian villages when the British took possession of the country is well described by Sir Sankaran Nair thus :—

"These village assemblies administered justice—both civil and criminal. The Supreme Government dealt with them and not with the inhabitants of the villages. They appropriated the revenue or tax among the inhabitants. They owned the public lands and not the Government. They consisted of elected members. We have got the election rules containing the qualifications, disqualifications etc., in detail of the electors of long long ago preserved in inscriptions. But they were incompatible with the revenue system of the British Government and with their administration of civil and criminal justice. The old village officials were converted by our Government into Government servants and became according to popular view Government tyrants. The village entity was not recognised and in some provinces was destroyed by legislation. The common lands became Government lands. The so-called village-organisations which are the creation of British legislation or administration bear no resemblance to these assemblies."

Can this description be improved upon? He then adduces an argument from the administration of justice which also seems to be a conclusive answer to those who maintain absolutism as an essential feature of Indian polity. He says:—"We now administer the Hindu laws of inheritance and certain other laws which are inseparably bound with the law of inheritance. Yet they are not laws which, so far as we know, had the sanction of any sovereign. They were framed by great law-givers, not kings, and those laws were applied by caste or village assemblies to cases of individuals that came up

before them." Hence he concludes that it is not right to say that 'any system other than that of absolute monarchy is repugnant to Hindu genius.' Besides this we have to take into account the influence of British education, environment, association, political evolution, time-spirit etc., in understanding aright the demand of the people for progressive reforms. There is no form of Government, as Sir Sankaran Nair emphatically says, which appeals more to the thoughtful among Indians today than a Government where the representatives of the people would sit to decide questions which affect the people.

Among the reforms which the Indian National Congress has been steadily pressing forward are:—Compulsory primary education in the interest of the masses, technical education for industrial development, local self-government mainly in the interests of sanitation etc., separation of judicial and executive functions for better administration of justice, reform of the land revenue system, abandonment of the theory that land forms the private property of the crown to be dealt with by the executive at its pleasure and the recognition of the national ownership of land by bringing what are called the revenue settlements under the control of representative legislative councils, and a far larger admission of Indians into the public services without racial distinction. These are some of the most important of the reforms which have been put forward. With what result? Let Sir Sankaran Nair answer it in his own inimitably bold style. "The result on the other hand was a stiffening of the civil service opposition to Indian progress mainly on the ground that English ideals are not suited to India. Gokhale said that unanimity in expressions of good-will, various proposals of reform by individuals, general opposition to every particular proposal, indifference if not refusal to carry out the clear intentions and orders of the British Nation have characterised the attitude of the Civil Service. The Indian politician who has taken any part in Indian public life or who has any experience of the real government of the country came to the conclusion that under the Indian Civil Service who form and carry on the real Government, no real progress can be expected. The result is the demand for reforms of the character now put forward." Thus it is clear that office has not contaminated nor Simla withered the firm, liberal and patriotic convictions of the great popular hero, Sir Sankaran Nair. All glory to him for the splendid service he has done to his country in speaking out thus boldly in this minute of dissent. We shall, for the present, conclude with the ringing words of the great knight in which he emphatically states his firm conviction that the success of the reform scheme should, on no account be left to the tender mercies of the over-masterful Indian Civil Service. Says he:—

"The Reforms Scheme is intended to release the duly elected representatives of the people, in part at any rate, from the control of the Civil Service. The Indian opinion is unanimous that this step is necessary in the interests of good administration and is due to the failure of the Civil Service to carry out the intentions of the Parliament and of the people of England. The Governor in some provinces is likely to be a civilian for some time to come. In others he will be greatly under civilian influence. In these circumstances the provision to retransfer is, and will be received as, a warning to the Legeslative

council not to indulge in a course of action which will lead the Civil Service to take that step. In fact my Colleagues practically say so in clear terms. The Civil Service have also openly declared their hostility to any real reform. It is absurd in these circumstances to place the future of Indian constitutional reform in their hands. The reforms are a gift of Parliament, not of the Civil Service. The Parliament may take it away at any future time if they choose. The future Legislative Councils have to perform their duty to the people of India and to Parliament. But to place this weapon in the hands of the Civil Service is in all probability to ensure failure of reform. They should not be allowed in future, as they have done in the past, to nullify the policy of the people of England."

Professor Seshadri on a University for Baroda.

(By Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar M. A.)

Among the most prominent features in recent educational activities have been the demand for more Universities, and Universities of a type better adapted to the growing needs of India than the existing provincial universities, and the readiness with which responsible authorities are prepared to consider University schemes for specific areas. Both the demand for them and the inclination to consider them sympathetically have undoubtedly derived much strength from the comparative facility with which the recently instituted State University of Mysore and the Hindu University of Benares have tided over initial difficulties, celebrated their first Convocations and conveyed reassurance to those who had been originally inclined to distrust the wisdom of the institution of these Universities or of their aims and constitutions. Naturally the recent past has been full of schemes of more Universities in which the experience gained even in the youngest of our Universities could be utilised. Notwithstanding the circumstance that one of the oldest University schemes in India, for a Muhammadan University at Aligarh,—has so far failed to materialise, new Universities are being proposed for Burma, Ceylon, Agra, Oudh, Baroda and Travancore. The schemes of the Universities of Dacca and Nagpur are, among other causes, apparently pending less through recognition of their urgency than through the difficulties created in all directions, and in education particularly, by the great war. It is only natural that the Native States of India which enjoy numerous advantages over the adjoining British Provinces in freedom to conceive new policies and facilities to carry them into execution, and which have in many signal instances shown their willingness and capacity to improve on the models furnished by British India, should take a a prominent and honourable place in the new movement. The Osmania University of Hyderabad, which must prove interesting for its daring departure from accepted University types in India, if for no other reason, has moved a step nearer full realisation by the promulgation of the recent *furman* of His Exalted Highness the Nizam. Expert opinion is at least known to have been requisitioned and received, for the contemplated University at Indore, which is to serve the educational needs of the Central India States. The large Committee appointed by the Travancore Darbar to consider and report on a University for Travancore has already arrived at an agreement on several important points and an interim report is likely to be submitted very shortly. The progressive State of Baroda in which educational advance during the enlightened administration of His Highness, Sir Sayaji Rao, the Gaekwar has been so remarkable, is also apparently revolving seriously the question of the institution of a University for itself, if not for the whole of Gujarat. This is evidenced from the Memorandum on a University for Baroda submitted to His Highness the Gaekwar (on his invitation) by Professor P. Seshadri of the Benares Hindu University.

Professor Seshadri's Memorandum is a notable contribution to the growing literature on University planning in India. Its

publication is opportune. The circumstances of its composition present some interesting features. Hitherto it has been a recognised maxim that for advice in high academic matters, the Government should turn only to distinguished outside experts like Sir Alfred Hopkinson or Professor Patrick Geddes, or lean on the wisdom of strong committees of enquiry like the Calcutta University Commission which, under the expert direction of Dr. Sadler, is reported to have recently come to the end of its labours. The voice of the Indian expert has not been heard—in many quarters, even its existence has been denied—and where Indian opinion has been taken, it has represented much more of aspiration than of experience. The imposition of the preparation of a note on a University for Baroda on Mr. Seshadri involved a departure from the tradition. And it must be admitted that the experiment has in a remarkable degree justified itself. Professor Seshadri is one of the younger men in the Indian academic world. He is known to belong to what has been called its "advanced" or "progressive" wing. His experience as a student and as a teacher in a private college has been continued by his service in similar institutions, by his Principalship of a Municipal College and by his service as Professor and, for some time, the officiating Head of the Hindu University College, Benares. Professor Seshadri's Memorandum is thus entitled to all the respect that a wide outlook and a somewhat extended Indian experience might claim. And in certain of his recommendations, such as his schemes for the constitution of the Senate and the Syndicate of the proposed University, the peculiar deflection of the angle of his vision might be attributed to the nature of his experience or to the need to subordinate the ideal for what alone would be realisable in Baroda. Frankly, one of the difficulties of a reader of Professor Seshadri's very able Memorandum is the feeling that the word "compromise" is writ large throughout it and that, *firstly*, in the omission to deal adequately with vital questions like the constitutions of the various Councils and the Assemblies of the University, of the organisation of its teaching, examining, research, publication and propagandist work, and of the devices for ensuring the harmonious and and successful co-operation of the various parts of the University with one another as well as with the University as a whole, the State and the outside world, and *secondly*, in the disproportionate amount of attention given to many questions of detail, the settlement of which might well have been left to the authorities of the University after its institution, Mr. Seshadri has been obsessed by the necessity to recognise local criticisms or the special outlook and views of the Baroda Darbar and its eminent Chief.

Mr. Seshadri's initial task is to attempt to establish the practicability and the desirability of a University for Baroda. It is probably not open to question that a State with such healthy finance could *afford* to maintain an efficient University. The *desirability* of a University would depend on a variety of *other* circumstances. The demand for properly trained men for the State's Service, not merely in regard to those who have received a general education, but those who have been trained in Law, Medicine, Engineering, Teaching or Technological subjects generally, would be a prime reason for the institution of a University. Mr. Seshadri feels sure that Baroda could absorb most of the *alumni* of a University established within its bounds, but he also points out that the retention of the classes for the training of teachers of the collegiate grade might be justified by the increasing demands of the education within the State and in the adjoining Provinces. Mr. Seshadri is too skilled an advocate to weaken his plea by overstressing the weakness of the possible opponents of the scheme. Manifestly, if the University of Bombay, which now serves the needs of Baroda, were a University of a proper type and met adequately *all* the demands for higher education in Baroda, there would be little reason for the installation of a separate University in the State. The new Universities which have been springing up in India or which are about to spring up, are planned on different lines from those of the existing provincial

Universities. One of the chief reasons for starting them has been the feeling that a University like that of Bombay or Madras is not altogether a proper type of University for present-day requirements and that it would be easier to constitute new Universities of a proper pattern than to "tinker up" the existing Universities. Mr. Seshadri writes with generous appreciation of the services rendered by the Bombay University to Baroda. The mere recital of such an obligation would not necessarily imply that the connection between Baroda and the University of Bombay should be retained, unless it could be shown, as it has not been, that the existing University *fully* meets the demand for an institution of an up-to-date kind. Mr. Seshadri argues that the establishment of a University in Baroda would prove really economical and result in the culmination of the many beneficent reforms which it has been the privilege of His Highness the present Gaekwar to inaugurate for the State over which he has ruled for over a generation.

Mr. Seshadri favours the unitary residential type of University. No one can quarrel with such a finding. But his provision of facilities for the attendance of day scholars, as well as the location of the University within the capital itself, must go largely to discount the value of his recommendation for a fully residential unitary type of University. It is open to ask whether it would not have been advisable to have contemplated the establishment of the University, outside, but near, the Capital, particularly as Mr. Seshadri does not consider it necessary to provide for the separate residence of women students in the University precincts.

Mr. Seshadri has suggested ways and means of finding the space required for the *campus* of a modern University in Baroda. It is to be regretted however that the obligation he has felt himself under to plan a University within the limits of the Capital has led to the provision of far less space than that which a study of the special requirements of modern Universities in America and elsewhere, and of the nature of the Indian climate and the conditions of Indian life might necessitate. An area of about half a square mile crowded with buildings can hardly afford the facilities for the development of those extra-mural activities which Professor Seshadri very rightly contemplates as essential features of the University.

The justification for a new University should be sought in the improvements it proposes to make on the existing types. Mr. Seshadri suggests several directions in which such improvements could be made in a freshly started University. He urges that a prominent place should be assigned in the case of a new Indian University to the effective Indianisation of the subjects of study and for increased attention to the special bearing of the conditions of Indian life. He utters at the same time a necessary warning against the tendency to give an *exclusively* Indian feature to the scheme of studies in the new University, quoting in support of his caution the striking and forcible words of Sir Ashutosh Mukherji at the last Convocation of the Mysore University. Mr. Seshadri might have also urged the dangers of unequal levels if the new University proceeded to develop courses of study *widely* differing from those of the existing Universities. It might be pleaded that in the world of inter-University relationships, no less than in the world of international trade, a "par of exchange" is eminently desirable. Hence, while providing for individual lines in new Universities, it is obligatory on those who plan them to keep in view the need to retain many of the traditional features (including the courses of study) of the existing Universities. This, combined with the possession of a really well-equipped Faculty, must obtain that wide recognition for a new University that would come of the acceptance of its degrees not merely by the Government of India but by the Universities outside its jurisdiction. Mr. Seshadri does not appear to have emphasised anywhere the need to provide for a very high standard of qualification in the professoriate of the proposed Uuniversity or to have stressed the need of such a provision in order to ensure the acceptance of the Uni-

versity's standards in the academic world as a whole.

It is often urged that, as a teacher, a foreigner cannot be expected to exercise the same influence which an equally well-equipped native could. The recognition of such a principle might lead to the conclusion that, as far as justified by the possession of equal qualifications, the aim of a University like that of Baroda should be to give every encouragement to the increase of the Indian element on its teaching staff. Of course, it would be necessary to maintain a reasonable proportion between indigenous and foreign elements in the Faculties, owing to the circumstances that the bulk of the University's work would be on lines of the existing Universities of the West.

Mr. Seshadri urges that in the new University the special needs of the country should be recognised in the framing of courses of study. He would, for instance urge the provision of *alternative* courses in English for those who desire either an intensive study of English or require only such a knowledge of English language and literature as would be necessary for their life's work, or their further education. This suggestion has been often made and Mr. Seshadri has done well to have given due prominence to it in his Memorandum.

The provision of chairs in subjects not specially taught at other Colleges of Western India is another function which Mr. Seshadri thinks the new University can well aim at. He specifically recommends the institution of chairs in Comparative Literature, with special reference to Indian languages and General Sociology. In regard to the first and the last, the obvious criticism is that chairs in such subjects have often in practice become mere endowments for the purpose of maintaining distinguished scholars who have worked in corners of these large subjects of hazy limits. Comparative Indian literature, particularly north Indian literature, would appear to be more practicable. May it not be suggested that a chair in the Comparative Philology of North Indian Languages would be as valuable, if not more? Such work has been done very successfully by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Mr. J. Beames, and Sir George Grierson. The peculiar political and linguistic conditions of Baroda, and its location on the fringe of the territorial limits of three or more languages, might give it not merely a pre-eminent duty to undertake the foundation of such a chair but special facilities for the recruitment of competent students and staff for the purpose of enabling the subject to be worked up properly.

Professor Seshadri has put in a powerful plea for the provision of some elements of æsthetic education in the new University, particularly in Music and other Fine Arts. He has indicated some of the existing facilities which might be extended in order to provide a reasonable start for such education. An observation that appears to be warranted by the perusal of Mr. Seshadri's treatment of the question is that he seems to aim at producing critics of Art and of Music rather than craftsmen. Surely, education in Music, and in Painting should aim at more than the creation of a body of Indian dilettanti?

Many wise suggestions on the promotion of physical culture and the provision for medical inspection of students are offered in Mr. Seshadri's Memorandum. These should obtain the general agreement of teachers.

Mr. Seshadri's suggestions in regard to the ways and means of fostering social life in the University are noteworthy but still leave a sense of incompleteness. Surely, the University is one of the organisations in which we should expect that provision should be made for the transition of the student from the irresponsibility of boyhood to the full responsibility of adult life? How can this be better ensured than by providing froms of students' self-government such as students' unions, co-operative societies and other modern means of grace, as well as a Students' Representative Council, which might be recognized as an integral element in the University Constitution, for making responsible representation to the academic authorities on matters of common interest to students? Such an institution is to be found in some Universities of Europe. Even ampler facilities for scholastic

self-government exist we believe, in some of the great American Universities.

Mr. Seshadri makes a brief reference to the adoption of a tutorial system which would ensure that a great part of the student's work is done outside the lecture rooms, and that every student receives individual attention. Apart from differences of opinion on the alleged success of the experiment in some of the Colleges of South India, the suggestion might not merely be accepted but improved on. Elsewhere, we believe, a suggestion has been thrown out, in organising a new University, that the place of the constituent Colleges should be taken by large residential Halls of about a hundred students each equipped with an adequate staff of proper academic standing, in which the students will be distributed. Each Hall would be permitted to develop on individual lines, and in the emulation of games and other students' activities the Hall would be a unit. The provision of such a system might ensure not merely what Mr. Seshadri desires but might lead to the development of healthy corporate activities within the University and also help to solve such problems as those of denominational instruction or moral instruction within the University, besides making it possible to ensure a separate provision for the growing numbers of women students.

It is note-worthy that Mr. Seshadri has, with the weight that would be attributed to the experience acquired in the Hindu University, written forcibly in favour of direct religious instruction as an essential part of the work of the proposed University.

(*To be continued.*)

India and the West.

(By N. K. Venkatesa, Aiyar m.a.)

Vincent Smith says in his "Early History of India" that "Europe was practically ignorant of India, until the veil was lifted by Alexander's operations and the report of his officers. Some twenty years after his death the Greek ambassadors sent by the Kings of Syria and Egypt to the Court of Mauryan Emperors, recorded careful observations on the country to which they were accredited." The date of the invasion of Alexander was 326 B.C. In that year Alexander marched to the Indus, and attacked Porus, evidently a chieftain, in one of the outlying kingdoms of North-Western India at that time. Porus was defeated. Alexander advanced a little, but owing to the refusal of his troops to proceed further, he returned and there was an end of the Greek contact with India, for a considerable time afterwards. It was at that time that Chandragupta rose to power. "He assumed the command of the Native revolt against the foreigner and destroyed most of the Macedonian garrisons.........When all opposition had been crushed by force or circumvented by guile, Chandragupta, in the vigour of his early manhood stood forth as the unquestioned master of Northern India." (Vincent Smith). He deposed and slew the Nanda King of Magadha, and ascended the throne of Magadha in 322 B.C. Thus Chandragupta succeeded on the throne of Magadha, the two dynasties of Sisunaga and Nanda. According to Vincent Smith, the beginning of the Sisunaga dynasty is placed somewhere about 600 B.C. But the mention of Magadha is made even in the Ramayana. (Balakanda. Sarga 32). Even before the Sisunaga kings, there must have lived a long line of kings at Magadha, which was evidently under the control of Kosala king in very remote times. If, without dismissing the Ramayana and the Maha Bharata, as untrustworthy sources of history, as Prof. Rawlinson does, it seems reasonable to state that with the fall of the Empires of Ayodhya and Hastinapura, the Solar and the Lunar Capitals of the most ancient times of which we have any knowledge, the kingdom of Magadha must have risen to prominence. It may be difficult to construct so much of history, as we unerstand it now-a-days, from the Epics of the Ramayana and the Maha Bharata; but quite certainly the two great Epics of India do not deserve to be brushed aside so lightly as untrustworthy sources of history. Without entering into details at present, it may be conceded to be reasonable to say that there were two great kingdoms in

Northern India, which had their Capitals at Ayodhya and Hastinapura. Magadha which once was a small kingdom rose into great prominence in later times. The accession of Chandragupta really started the modern history of Magadha, and it was then that the West come to have a more or less direct knowledge of India. It was also then, it appears, that a set of immigrants came from Persia and settled in the West coast of India ; and when Mr. P. Modi speaks of the Iranian influence on Mauryan India, he is really referring to this period of Indian history. The Greeks had come in contact with Chandragupta, and Chandragupta became the ruler of Magadha. So it naturally followed that after Alexander's death, Greek ambassadors were sent to the Mauryan Court and the West began to probe into the internal life of India. But that was not the first contact of the outside world with India. It is true that India was self-contained for long ages, and historical notices of India became possible only with the coming in of the outsiders into India. But there is ample evidence to show that before this early contact of the West with the Mauryan Court in the midst of Northern India, on the banks of the Ganges, other nations had known India and dealt with it. As early as the Sixth Century B. C. Darius I, King of Persia, had attempted an invasion of India. Prof. Rawlinson says, " After exploring the country by means of boats which navigated the Indus from Attock to the sea, he led or sent a body of troops into the region and rapidly reduced it to subjection. A valuable gold tract was thus added to the Empire, and the Revenue was augmented by about one third. Commerce also received an impulse from the opening of the Indian market to Persian traders, who thenceforth kept up a regular communication with the tribes bordering the Indus by coasting vessels, which started from the Persian Gulf." Commercially therefore India was known to the immediate West, as far back as the sixth century B. C. This was not all. Phoenicia, says Rawlinson, was in flourishing condition in the eleventh century B. C., and it was in direct contact with India for transferring the valuable products of India to the Western markets. To this we may add the consideration that the history of Judaea, which is admittedly carried so far back as 1650 B. C. is a history which is in several ways connected with the history of India. The religion of Christ owed much to the influence of Iran and Aryavarta, and in the days of David and Solomon, commercial contact existed between India and the kingdom of Israel. We may thus be led to infer that at least so far back as the seventeenth century B. C. India was not merely a vague region in the world, but was a country which at least for trade was coveted by the people of Central and Western Asia. A high state of political and industrial development must have preceded a wide international trade such as India seems to have had at that time.

If Magadha was the third great Empire in India, then we could safely go back several centuries and write out a history of India of the most ancient times. The date of the Maha Bharata war is given as 3100 B. C. and the war of the Maha Bharata was the close of the great kingdom of the Lunar kings. Before the Lunar race rose into prominence, the Solar kings held their sway at Ayodhya, if we should believe in the account communicated to us in the holy Epics of this land. At any rate, the last phase of the ancient history of India is marked by the history of Magadha and Buddhism, and it is from that period that the contact of the West with India may really be said to begin. But with the end of the Indo-Greek rule for a short time in the Panjab, the European race left India for a long time until, as Prof. Rawlinson says, " 1400 years later when the thunder of the Portuguese guns was heard beyond the bar by the astonished citizens of Calicut." But as Prof. Rawlinson says, " The Greeks came and went and India was allowed to go on its own way and pass through the whole range of a mediæval history under the rule of the Mahommedans, until at last in modern times, it came under the commercial and political influence of the Nations of the West.

Notes and Comments.

Sri Sankaracharya of Karavir Peetha in the Bombay Presidency referring to the Patel Marriage Bill said:— "The Government of India has no right to interfere with the religion of the people. If the Government goes beyond its powers then we too will resort to Satyagraha. If Mr. Patel will not wisely withdraw his Bill, very dire consequences will result. I solemnly declare that if Mr. Patel's Bill passes I will adopt Satyagraha and will be ready to die for religion." That is exactly what our religious Gurus ought to do. It is their duty to uphold dharma and denounce adharma.

* * *

The Press Act is in full swing at Madras *The Hindu*, in spite of its long and glorious record of public service, has been mulcted of the sum of Rs.2000 as security. This order demanding security came as a bolt from the blue. it was quite unexpected. The present Editor of this paper Mr. S. Kasturi Ranga Aiyangar is one the five Indian Editors of newspapers honoured by the British Government with an invitation to visit the Front when the great European War was going on. He has had the rare honour and privilege of an interview with His Majesty the Emperor of India. He is a very highly respected leader of the people and it is well-known that he is as much interested (if not more) as anybody else in the maintenance of the fair name of British rule in India. Under such circumstances it is exceedingly strange that the Madras Government has thought it necessary to proceed against this Journal under the Press Act.

* * *

They have not stopped with "*The Hindu*." The Chief Presidency Magistrate has demanded a security of Rs. 2000 from the *Svadesamitran* Press and of Rs. 1000 from the *Hindu Nesan* Press. The *Svadesamitran* is the premier Tamil daily of this Presidency and was started by that veteran journalist, the late Mr. G. Subrahmanya Aiyar. It has got a very wide circulation and is a valuable medium of popular information and education. Security is now demanded not on account of any article published in this paper but because of two pamphlets printed in the Press in connection with the Satyagraha movement. Then again the Editor and publisher of the *Hindu Nessn* tendered an unqualified apology and even undertook to stop the publication of the paper if security was demanded. But no. The Press was ordered to furnish the security if it wanted to continue any printing work. That every Printing Press in the country is at the mercy of the Executive in the matter of the Press Act cannot be better illustrated than by these cases. We hope for the dawn of better days after the introduction of the promised reforms. Meanwhile our leaders who have now gone to England would do well to draw the attention of the British public and members of Parliament to these cases.

* * *

The General Secretary, Sri Dakshina Bharata Dharma Mandal, Trichinopoly writes:— At the request of this Mandal H. H. The Jagadguru Sri Sankaracharya swamigal of Kumbakonam has been pleased to make over the Tamil Monthly Magazine '*Arya Dharma*' to the Mandal. The Magazine enters on its fifth year of useful work and is being published as the official organ of the Sri Dakshina Bharata Dharma Mandal from this month with new features such as Editorial Notes, special news of educational and religious interest etc. It continues to enjoy the patronage of H. H. Sri Sankaracharya Swamigal of Sringeri and of Kumbakonam and other leaders of the Hindu Community. The annual subscription is Rupees 2 only. The policy of the paper is the same now as before.

The Bhagavad Gita.

With an English Exposition

By K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

(The substance of the lectures now being delivered at the Students' Sanatana Dharma Sabha Trichinopoly.)

ADHYAYA II.

(*continued.*)

रागद्वेषवियुक्तैस्तु विषयानिन्द्रियैश्चरन् ।
आत्मवश्यैर्विधेयात्मा प्रसादमधिगच्छति ॥ ६४ ॥

But the man of disciplined mind, moving the objects with senses free from desire and anger and controlled by himself, attains peace and clarity of soul.

NOTES :

1. The *Yoga Sastras* describe these methods fully and clearly.

2. This and the succeeding 7 verses are an answer to Arjuna's question : किं व्रजेत What will be the seer's attitude to the objects of the senses ?

3. Such मनःप्रसाद (mental equipoise and purity) alone leads to God-vision.

प्रसादे सर्वदुःखानां हानिरस्योपजायते ।
प्रसन्नचेतसो ह्याशु बुद्धिः पर्यवतिष्ठते ॥ ६५ ॥

When such mental peace and purity are attained, the extinction of all sorrow is attained. The discriminative faculty of him whose mind has attained peace and purity is self-poised and steadfast.

NOTES :

1. The Lord shows how equilibrium is attained only by him who has attained peace and purity.

नास्ति बुद्धिरयुक्तस्य न चायुक्तस्य भावना ।
न चाभावयतः शान्तिरशान्तस्य कुतः सुखम् ॥

The knowledge of Atman comes not to him who has not attained mental equilibrium. To him who has no knowledge of Atman comes not the uninterrupted meditation of the Self ; to him who has not attained such meditation comes not the great peace of realisation, and to him who has not attained such peace whence can come the bliss of Moksha ?

NOTES :

1. This verse shows the great truth that श्रवण, मनन, and निदिध्यासन lead to साक्षात्कार and साक्षानन्द.

2. Only the pure in heart shall see God—that is the substance of the Lord's teaching here.

3. सुख means happiness and not pleasure. Sri Sankaracharya says : इन्द्रियाणां विषयसेवातृष्णातो निवृत्तिर्या तत् सुखं न विषयविषया तृष्णा दुःखमेव हि सा न तृष्णायां सत्यां सुखस्य गन्धमात्रमुत्पद्यते इत्यर्थः ।

इन्द्रियाणां हि चरतां यन्मनोऽनुविधीयते ।
तदस्य हरति प्रज्ञां वायुर्नावमिवाम्भसि ॥ ६७ ॥

The mind which follows blindly in the wake of the roving senses carries away the faculty of discrimination as a storm carries away a boat upon the ocean.

तस्माद्यस्य महाबाहो निगृहीतानि सर्वशः ।
इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थेभ्यस्तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ ६८ ॥

Therefore, O mighty-armed, the wisdom of that man is steadfast, all of whose senses are restrained from all their objects.

NOTES :

1. Even if one sense is indulged, the succession of disasters already described will follow.

2. By calling Arjuna "mighty-armed" the Lord invites him to his self-conquest also.

The Dreams of the Soul.

(BY AN INDIAN DREAMER).

XVI

I chased many a glittering butterfly of desire in my youth and wasted my precious morning hours in fruitless study and futile work.

The caged bird of my unquiet heart has dashed its head often against the iron bars of life, stung to madness at the sight of the infinite blue of the sky and the flaming rose of the sun. When can it be free ?

The stream of my life rejoiced in the leap from rock to rock of thought and then swept slowly into the dark and smoky cities of work. But now the murmurs of the infinite ocean of thy love come faintly to its ears. Can the stream meet the ocean soon and be lost in its fulness of love ?

Random Jottings.

[BY A SON OF INDIA.]

What are our Deputations going to do? Their number is legion, and they represent various interests from the reactionary Nairism to the Congress Demands. Time and oft have we been told that the average Britisher is indifferent to, and ignorant of

even if interested in, Indian affairs. A vigorous propaganda work will have to be begun and carried on. If, as in Parliamentary elections in England, our representatives pitch their camps opposite to one another, and begin attacking, belittling one another's plans and principles, they will probably be taken for fugitives from the towers of Babel, and those amiable *friends* of India like Lord Sydenham, Col. Yate, and Mr. Archer will be afforded an opportunity to have a base fling at the Indians in general. Our representatives will certainly be showing practical statesmanship if they adopt the *spirit* of the mandate laid on them by their respective constituents and chalk out a common plan of work. This will enable their cases to be put before the English people, shorn of their unnecessary details, and their apparent contradictions. In trying to aim at the seventeen annas of reform, let not the Congress Deputy indulge in cheap sneers at his more moderate, though none the less sincere, brother. What will they do? Echo answers "*Do.*"

* * *

This brings us on to the question of the desirability of holding the next session of the Congress in London. It was a mistake to have held the last year's Congress at Delhi. It is a pity that the leaders did not take up the matter right earnestly. If a session of the Congress had been held in London last December, the path of reform would not remain so thorny, so uncertain as it is to-day. Our leaders could have made out a case—a clear case—for their claims, and the English people would have had an idea not only of the justice, the equity and the fair play underlying those claims, but also of the sincerity of conviction, earnestness of purpose, and the determination of will that have manifested themselves all over the land.

* * *

It is no use crying over spilt milk. 'Better late than never' was never more true in its application. Our leaders are all there, or will shortly be there in England. Let them organise a session of the Congress, and invite thereto all the members of Parliament, and other friends of India. Let our demands be subjected to any lot of discussion, and it needs no assurance, no prophecy to say that they will emerge all the more glorious, all the more holy, all the more tirumphant. *Allah Akbar!*

* * *

Dame Rumour has again spoken the truth, and Sir Sankaran Nair has been released. Fetters off, manacles off, gags off! Sir Sankaran can now once again breathe the free air of a patriot, a leader. It is base blasphemy to think that Sir Sankaran will linger here in lotus land, when things of great momentum are taking place in England, when India's destinies are forged on English anvils. With his tall erect figure, his commanding personality, his stentorian voice, his cool but sharp intellect, his vast and varied experience both in the free air of non-official world and in his narrow official cell, his clarity of perception and sobriety of judgment, his love of truth, his fear of god, and fearlessness of man, will all be unsparingly, unreservedly placed at the altar of his motherland, and will constitute no mean help to mother India's cause. May God bless him.

Constitutionl Struggle for Liberty.

(By P. SUBRAHMANYA MUDALIAR B.A., B.L.)

(*continued.*)

"You must remember, Mr. Desa Abhiman that it is a transitional stage; friction and conflict are inevitable. There must be forbearance and co-operation."

"Should not forbearance and co-operation be mutual?" asked the Minister "you assert and enforce all your rights under the statute, and even strain the meaning of words. A very strict construction is placed on the rules and statutes relating to elected members, their privileges and transferred departments. The more I consider on the bifurcated division of administration and its practical working, the more I am convinced not by apriori arguments, but by my actual experience, that the wit of man cannot devise a more illogical, a more unpracticable, a more absurd system than the scheme of partition of administration functions among elected and official members. It is impossible that I would continue to be your minister or dummy machine for registering bureaucratic orders. I cannot, consistent with my self-respect,

indulge in the luxury of running toy parliaments. When my countrymen are arrested and imprisoned without trial and detained for indefinite periods, when independent newspapers are frequently harassed or suppressed, when respectable journalists are treated on a par with habitual criminals, when we have to move, live, and have our being in an atmosphere of racial inferiority, and racial submission, and when I am unable to lift my fingers for redressing such grievances, and for ameliorating the condition of such persecuted persons, and when masses are weighted with grinding poverty, I cannot remain your Premier for the Transferred Departments. Leaving aside agriculture, the Ministry for the transferred departments can exercise no power of control over the industries or the commerce of the province. What powers have I to promote its industrial condition? Can I give any bounties to nascent industries, or stimulate infant industries by any State aid or legislation? Foreign exploitation continues as brisk as ever. In the neighbouring province of Hyderabad ruled by an enlightened chief, the State renders all possible assistance to the coal mines of Singaren, the gold mines of Linsugar, and the Paper Mills at Daulatabad. The carpet industry of Warrangal owes its present prosperous condition solely to the benificent care of its patriotic rulers. Can you point out a single instance of your rendering any aid to any indigenous industry run by Indians; So I have finally made up my mind to resign. I wish you will raise no further objection. My friend Mr. Swarajya also resigns."

"So it is final? Will you recommend any elected member in your place?" asked the Governor.

"I am sorry I cannot" was the reply.

After the departure of the Minister, the Governor sent for Mr. Hard, and Mr. Mulroji Row, and held a prolonged conversation on the subject of selecting ministers from the Legislative Council. Seven or eight members were sent for; and they all declined; and the rest were tapped to no purpose. A representative of the European Chambers of Commerce, Mr. Mopington, accepted the offer. He selected his friend Mr. Lemaire Fry who represented the European planting communities. Messrs Mopington, and Le Fry became Ministers for the transferred departments. They had no majority in the Council. It was not binding on the Governor to select the elected member who had a majority in the Council. That rule applied only in self-governing colonies. For the transitional stages, any elected member, be he a European or an Indian, might be selected as the Minister for transferred departments. Under the Minto-Morley Reforms the Governor was required to have an Indian as a member of the Executive Council, so that non-official opinion would be represented in the Council. A Governor once selected an official Indian, and such a selection was held strictly within the letter of the law. So the Montagu Scheme required an elected member; the Governor Fossilon selected an elected European Member as his Minister, which was quite within the statute. When some Indians lodged a written protest to the Governor that such a selection was contrary to the spirit of the law, the Governor-in-Council threatened to dissolve the Council under the powers vested in him. After a good deal of acrimonious correspondence between the Governor-in-Council and certain elected members, the Legislative Council was dissolved; and a fresh general election was held, and almost the same members were returned with one exception viz., Mr. Gapington was returned in place of Dungall for representing Anglo-Indian mining interests. The Governor hunted for Indian elected members for being his Ministers; and finally he selected Mr. Mopington and Mr. Gapington as his Ministers for the Transferred Departments, as the Governor had experienced a considerable amount of difficulty in inducing any Indian Minister to accept without murmur the amounts allotted to the transferred departments. Let the elected majority shout to any extent; Governor Fossilon and his members of the Executive Council paid no attention to their resolutions, protests and threats of resignation of seats. When matters came to a climax in 1927, the Governor-in-Council sent a long despatch to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State pointing out the desirability of reverting to the days of Lord Cross' Act on the ground that the people were unfit for representative institutions, and the departments should be re-transferred or restored to the Executive Council, and specifying the names of certain

elected members who had been making seditous use of certain proclamations dropped from enemy aeroplanes in the streets of Nagpur, and affixing a copy of the proclamation to the Memorandum; and an urgent communication was also sent to the Government of India for formal sanction to deport or intern or prosecute for sedition such of the elected members as were most mischievous, and made inflammatory speeches in the Legislative Council. The following extracts from the enemy Proclamation referred to in the Memorandum would be found interesting:—

"Ye, citizens of India, Do not groan under British tyranny. We will confer Home-rule or Independence on your province. We do not want to retain your country, but want only commercial treaties. The following verdict on British Rule was passed as early as 1906 by that great impartial American Statesman Mr. W. J. Bryan:—

"If India has not yet been fit for free institutions, it is certainly not her fault. If, after one and a half centuries of British rule, India remains where she was in the Middle ages, what a sad commentary must it be upon the civilising influence of that rule! When the British came to India, India was the leader of Asiastic Civilisation and the undisputed centre of light in the Asiatic world. Japan was nowhere. In fifty years Japan has revolutionised her history with the aid of modern arts of progress; and India with 150 years of British rule is still condemned to tutelage. Japan the arbiter of her own destiny and the guardian of her own people, has in half a century bounded from illiteracy to the premier position in the East, and is thought to be worthy to enter into Anglo-Japanese Alliance, while India condemned to political servitude and sacrificed for the commercial advantages of another nation, still sits in darkness."

"And the subordination of the industries of India to the supposed advancement of another nation's trade is as indefensible upon political and economic grounds as upon moral grounds."

"On the Ganges and the Indus, the Briton, in spite of his many noble qualities and his large contributions to the world's advancement, has demonstrated man's inability to exercise with wisdom and justice, irresponsible power over helpless people. He has conferred some benefits upon India, but he has extorted a tremendous price for them."

"While he has boasted of bringing peace to the living, he has led millions to the peace of the grave. While he has restored order, he has impoverished the country by legalised pillage.

"How long will it be before the quickening conscience of England's Christian people will heed the petition that swells up from fettered India, and apply to Britain's greatest Dependency the doctrines of human brotherhood."

The Governor was grieved to hear that such inflammatary proclamations from enemy aeroplanes were not destroyed then and there; but certain editors thought it fit to publish them in their newspapers. No doubt they were careful enough to publish leaders in their journals stating that the Mongols were a treacherous nation, and the horrible atrocities perpetrated by them in Northern Asia showed the true character of the invaders and their proclamations and treaties were mere scraps of paper. It was irritating to the Governor and his Council that not one word was written in justification of British rule as against the malicious attacks of Mr. W. J. Bryan. In the three Presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta which enjoyed self-government, war loans rose by leaps and bounds; and millions flocked voluntarily to enlist in the army. In his province the response was feeble and intermittent. The Governor called an urgent meeting of his Executive Council to consider the critical situation. Mr. B. D. Hard I.C.S.,C.S.I., Mr Mulrojee Row C.I.E., and Mr. Facing-both-ways C.B.E., attended the meeting in the Council Chamber.

"Gentlemen, I have convened this urgent meeting to consider the present situation." Said the Governor. "The Memorandum has been despatched to the Government of India with all the necessary enclosures. I do not know what His Excellency Lord Cotton would think of it. He had been trained in the sturdy principles of liberalism; and he

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has been appointed by the British Labour Cabinet. Times are out of joint; what shall we do to restore peace and order in our own province? I have forgotten to tell you about the latest successes of our forces. The telegrams are on the table. I have no fear that the Invading Army would ever reach Calcutta or Delhi; their days are numbered. We shall soon have to celebrate a day of national thanksgiving in commemoration of our victory. What about our troublesome fellows at home?"

Mr. B. D. Hard, after reading the telegrams, said: "So far they are satisfactory. But I am panting for the day when it would be announced that the Tartar hordes had surrendered. Now, with regard to traitors at home, I say we shall adopt stern measures, and silence the whole gang. It was the late Lord Salisbury who declared that representative institutions were unsuited for the Eastern races; his recipe of strong resolute government for Ireland for twenty years, might be safely applied in this stormy province with regard to the Asiatics; our concessions, our leniency would be mistaken for indecision and weakness. We have reported to the Government of India that the transferred departments should be restored. In all probability orders would be received in a fortnight. Then I would lay out a plan before the Council for effectually curbing the activities of these hordes of sedition-mongers and home-rulers by stern and relentless prosecution, deportation, internment, externment, forfeiture of securities on a promiscuous scale, and suppression of seditious newspapers, proscribing all public meetings under the Seditious Meetings Act and the Defence of India Act. Let us wait for a fortnight. I would make it a model province."

(*To be continued.*)

Olla Podrida.

At the recent United States University Dinner there were two interesting features: "The guests were seated by colleges of which 28 were represented, and a feature of the evening was the songs and yells of those institutions." We know something about songs. But what are the yells of the institutions? Do Universities learn to yell as a part of the University training. Mr. Davis, the American ambassador said that an American Rhodes was wanted. What do they want Rhodes for in America? Rhodes or roads? To go to fresh fields and pastures new?

* * *

Marshal Haig said recently that the seeds of future armed conflicts could be found everywhere in the world and that the races should be pulled up to western standards of life. We do not know what is to be afraid of more—the danger or the solution!

* * *

Afghanistan has found out a new rule of procedure. The Amir dreamt that Col. Ali Raza murdered the late Amir. At once the criminal was condemned and bayonetted on 13th April. What is dream to one is death to another!

* * *

The order of Brahmacharis is organising branches. What shall the world do against this mobilisation? When are the girls to organise themselves?

* * *

We learn that at Conjeevaram *Shanti Ashram*—the first *ashram* of the order of the Brahmacharis—has been started, that it has begun regular work, and that the first meeting of the order will be on 1st June 1919. A non-Brahmana Brahmachari is the Assistant Secretary. The Theosphical society is to house the Ashram. Sanyasa has been already modernised and we are having Sanyasi husbands and Sanyasi wives going about in white cloths and mystic union to uplift the world. We are now modernising *Brahmacharya.*

* * *

Sister Balambal lectured recently on Indian Industries at Kumbakonam to a large gathering. At least one industry is now flourishing. Need I say what it is?

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